1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

502 charged with paddling the canoe and keeping it clear of water. In small canoes the man directly amidships is the bailer and is termed *tata yua*. The bowman is known as *kauyu*. He is responsible for keeping a good lookout ahead, an especially important duty in shoal waters when he cons the canoe through the lagoon channels by directing the steering of the captain. He sits on the forward outrigger boom (*kaukau hi mua*) to keep the float down when the canoe is heeling over to a fresh wind. He alters the angle of the mast as required by the strength of the wind and uses his paddle as a leeboard if necessary. When it is necessary to turn the canoe quickly, he paddles at right angles to the canoe and thus helps the steersman. He is usually a strong, lively man as is demanded by his position.

322 782 562 778 793 Formerly tapus existed against the presence of women in canoes (p. 309) and against desecrating a canoe by capsizing it. When work began on a new voyaging canoe and again when the work was completed, a priest commended the canoe to the protection of the gods of the owner's paternal descent group. No details are remembered of these ceremonies, but they appear to have rendered the canoe in some measure tapu. Before starting a canoe voyage, the priest went to the worshiping place again to recommend the canoe to the protection of the god. No record is preserved of the type of god consultation carried out at sea, but informants suggested it was similar to consultations in the god house of the religious structure. The canoe priest probably took with him on the journey a stick or stone representative of his god to which a malo or coconut leaf could be tied when the priest communicated with the god. This would render the canoe still more sacred because in a sense the spirit of the god was considered as traveling with the priest on the canoe. To capsize a canoe by carelessness, lack of skill, or general bad temper was to treat the sacred canoe with less than proper consideration; it made the canoe *lapu* (violated the sanctity of a god), and the god was quick to punish this slight.

Care of Canoe

504 When canoes return from a fishing trip or other expedition, they are carried up the beach well above high-water mark and the hull, bow to the sea, is rested on chocks (*laugo*). Sections of pandanus logs are split into halves longitudinally. The flat side rests on the ground. A notch is cut in the rounded upper surface of the chock and the hull of the canoe rested in this notch. Dry butt ends of coconut midribs and dry half coconut husks are also used as canoe chocks. Stern and bow pieces may be further supported by dry coconut midribs, the broad end of the butt with its natural scotch serving to support the canoe piece. Small canoes and dugouts are sometimes turned hull up before resting outrigger booms on chocks.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

504
285

Canoes are bailed dry and excess moisture is wiped out with wringers of coconut fiber. They are covered with old coconut-leaf mats (*pola*), unplaited dry coconut leaves, and pieces of pandanus matting. This canoe covering is termed *kaukau lama* or *tapola*. Coconut-leaf butts and lengths of timber are leaned against the covering to prevent its blowing away in the wind.

Formerly canoes were never anchored with a cable to prevent them from drifting. A stick, called *iki tauia*, was driven into the sand of the resting place of the canoe just forward of the stern cross boom on the port side of the canoe between the hull and the longitudinal spar. This served to anchor the canoe securely because the top end of the stick projected well above the cross boom.

Cultivation and Harvesting

262
824
241

The vegetable foods of the Pukapukans are limited to coconuts, talo, *pulaka*, bananas, and pandanus. Today a few papayas and limes grow on Motu Kotawa. Coconuts and talo were and are the staple vegetable foods; the coconut is immeasurably the more important. All parts of the coconut tree were used for food as well as clothing and sennit; its value led the people to study every phase in growth of fruit and tree. Any Pukapukan can distinguish stages in the growth of the nut by a glance at a tree, however high; and he will climb only that tree which has on it the particular fruit for his purpose.

Coconut

245
539
171
773

The origin of the coconut is told in the following Pukapukan version of a widespread Polynesian myth.

Mauinali and Mauiepopo were a Pukapukan man and wife. Mauiepopo conceived a child by her husband and, as is the habit of women at this time and in this condition, she longed for special and strange foods to eat. She had tasted everything that her husband could bring her, but still she longed for other foods. Her husband fished and fished and brought her home his catch, but she refused to eat it, saying, "This fish smells rotten to me. Take it away. I do not like it. Go fishing again and bring me some other fish." So he went fishing again, and this time brought home some sweet fish, fat and delicious. But again his wife refused to eat, saying, "This fish is too sickly sweet. I don't like it." This went on for many days, the husband procuring all kinds of new fish, the wife refusing them all, until he was worn out with his toil, while his wife pined away for food. At last he said to her, "Tell me what kind of fish it is that you long for, and then I will try to bring it to you." She replied, "There is one fish only that I desire and that is a piece of the *tuna* eel."

The man got his bait and hooks and went to the hole of the *tuna*. He baited his hook and threw it into the hole, but the *tuna* would not bite. He tried many kinds of bait fish in turn but with no luck. At last in despair he tried a bait of flowers and leaves, but still the *tuna* would not bite his hook. In the end, when he was about to give up altogether, he thought of his wife sitting at home waiting for him and decided to make one more try. For this last effort he baited his hook with the strong-perfumed

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

All canoes are kept uncovered on the southern, or lagoon shore, of the islet. In the village are several small storage houses containing old, disassembled canoes. Within the last few years toilets have been built on piles of coral blocks several yards from the lagoon beach.

Taro Cultivation

The early inhabitants of Pukapuka solved the problem of cultivating taro on an atoll by digging large pits. They created rich soil by depositing dead coconut fronds and other fallen leaf material from the bush and allowing it to rot in the pits. Water seeped in, and a thick mud, in which taro grew excellently, was formed. During the centuries these pits have been enlarged into great excavations which will produce enough taro for the entire population (pl. 2, *B*). As the soil must continually be replenished, each row of taro has a line of coconut fronds and leaf material laid along it. The most extensive of these pits have been made on Pukapuka Islet. Excavation still continues to a limited degree.

Plantations

Each section of the village owns a part of the atoll on which it grows its taro and coconuts. Iato section owns the southwestern islet, Motu Katava (Lau-la-lalo); Ngaki owns the southeastern islet, Motu Koe (Lau-la-lunga); and Loto owns Te Motu, a part of Pukapuka Islet. *Motu* means both "islet" and "division of land". These three *motu* are communal property of the section to which they belong and are reserved for the production of food.

The division of the small food supply must be carefully supervised and restricted. Formerly the food collected was divided among all adults and children, the children receiving smaller shares. In the taro patches on Pukapuka Islet, each individual of Loto now has a plot 9 feet square which he cultivates and uses for his own subsistence (pl. 2, *A*). There are both communal patches and small ones belonging to individuals or families. In modern times the coconuts from the communal lands are still divided for the making of copra. The village council allots to each man the number of coconuts he is to cut and dry. The entire crop is collected and sold to the trading schooner, and each man receives a proportionate part of the money.